

29 January 1952

Mr. Lee B. Wood  
Executive Editor  
New York World-Telegram  
New York 15, New York

Dear Mr. Wood:

I appreciate your letter of 24 January 1952 with a set of proofs of Mr. David Snell's articles on Stalin's plan for aggrandizement. I have read these with great interest. I gather that the set you sent me completes the series, but if there are any more, I should be interested in having them.

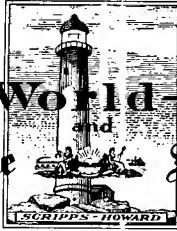
It was a pleasure to have met you the other night at the Public Library and I appreciate what you had to say about my talk.

Sincerely yours,

Allen W. Dulles

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New York World-Telegram  
and  
The Sun



LEE B. WOOD  
EXECUTIVE EDITOR

New York 15, N.Y.

January 24, 1952.

Dear Mr. Dulles:

Following our conversation at the New York Library dinner last evening, here's a set of proofs on the Snell articles dealing with Stalin's plan for aggrandizement.

We are currently publishing these in the New York World-Telegram and Sun.

Again may I say how much I enjoyed your very illuminating talk Wednesday night.

Sincerely,

Lee B. Wood.

Allen W. Dulles, Esq.  
2430 E. Street  
Washington, D. C.

LBW:H  
Encs.

HOLD FOR RELEASE

**PRECEDENT STALIN**—indent leadership under sharpening at-STALIN - first of a series of articles, reporter David Snell analyzes the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the light of Stalin's own writings. Little known in the United States, Stalin's "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question" was brought to the attention of the Scripps-Howard newspapers by Alice Widener of New York as a public service.

First of a Series.  
By DAVID SNELL,  
Staff Writer.

A quarter of a century ago Joseph Stalin revealed in detail his plan for world conquest.

That plan is today the foreign policy of the Soviet Union—a policy that has added 600,000,000 slaves to the Red empire in just five years.

Current developments in Asia and the Middle East bear living arms and more than 10,000,000 testimony to the continuing success of the plan. Communism is spreading, despite all the efforts of the West to contain it.

Stalin's Grand Plan.

Here is Stalin's grand plan as revealed by him in writing and speech—words which the West apparently has not bothered to learn:

1. Gobble up the little nations on Russia's western border, securing the heartland of communism against counterattack from the West.
2. With the front door locked, conquer China by fraud, deception and bloody civil war.
3. Hand China the sword to conquer the rest of Asia for communism.
4. Foment revolution in the colonial and semicolonial lands of the Middle East.
5. Deny Asia's strategic war materials to the West and hand to communism an inexhaustible supply of cannon fodder.
6. When the West becomes exhausted through lack of supplies and commerce, strike at the teetering bastion of a free society and wipe it out.

West Miscalculates.

This strategy is fully revealed in Stalin's unexpurgated "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question," and a collection of speeches and papers by Stalin and other Communist leaders, entitled "China in Revolt."

These books laid bare his plan, step by step. They told precisely how China was to be captured—and how it was to become the biggest factor in revolutions in the rest of Asia.

They even brazenly told exactly how the West would—and finally did—miscalculate.

Exactly as Stalin planned it 25 years ago, "Operation Overthrow" is now in progress in nearly every country of the Asiatic and Middle Eastern target area—and is succeeding.

3-Stage Revolutions.

Ingenious in its simplicity, the operation builds revolutions in three stages:

Stage One. Native Communists—open and concealed—form alliances with nationalist movements, rallying the masses around such slogans as "Asia for the Asiatics!"

Stage Two. Having entrenched themselves and helped throw off Western influence or control, the Communists turn on native nationalist leaders. They destroy them with propaganda and/or bullets.

Stage Three. The Communists had the responsibility of implementing the state machinery—by one or more of these means:

1. Open military intervention by a "friendly" Soviet border state.
2. Civil war waged by an armed Communist party.
3. Skillfully manipulated coup d'état.

How Scoreboard Reads.

"Whoever does not understand," wrote Stalin, "that there are no revolutions without definite stages of development . . . understands nothing . . . of Marxism . . ."

For the revolution in the so-called backward and colonial lands, this three-stage plan is inflexible rule.

Here's how the scoreboard reads up to now:

China and Tibet. The three stages have run their tragic course. Egypt, Iran, Jordan, Iraq and Morocco. Alliance with nationalism and hatred of the West, these countries are completing the first stage.

India: Her independence attained and her non-Communist

leadership under sharpening at-STALIN - first of a series of articles, reporter David Snell analyzes the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the light of Stalin's own writings. Little known in the United States, Stalin's "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question" was brought to the attention of the Scripps-Howard newspapers by Alice Widener of New York as a public service.

As Hitler revealed in "Mein Kampf," his blueprint for conquest, Joseph Stalin revealed in his unexpurgated "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question" his plan for the defeat of the West and the establishment of world communism. In this series of articles, reporter David Snell analyzes the foreign policy of the Soviet Union in the light of Stalin's own writings. Little known in the United States, Stalin's "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question" was brought to the attention of the Scripps-Howard newspapers by Alice Widener of New York as a public service.

Korea: With the first two stages completed, only the last-minute intervention of the United Nations staved off completion of stage three.

China Perils All Asia.

Meanwhile, the specter of China is haunting all Asia—and this, too, is just as Stalin planned. In "China in Revolt" there is the following:

"Liberated (Communist) China will become a magnet for all the peoples of the yellow race. . . . China will become a major power on the Pacific; it will become a menacing threat for the capitalist world . . ."

"But the American imperialists are going to miscalculate—they are bound to miscalculate because they overlook the historical role which China is called upon to play in Asia and on the Pacific."

In the blueprint, Stalin called for "the creation in China of a big and powerful political and military army against imperialism and its agents."

This, too, has come to pass. Within the last few weeks the Chinese Nationalist government on Formosa learned through its intelligence that Red China has 5,000,000 front-line troops under arms and more than 10,000,000 others in reserve ready for action "on any front."

As Stalin planned, this army has a political role outside China's borders, as well as military.

Psychological Advantage.

By its very existence, the Chinese Red army gives strength and impetus to Communist revolutions that are now in progress, in their various stages, in non-Communist lands of Asia and the Middle East. This is the political role.

The military role has been manifested in Korea and Tibet, and, unless Red China is thwarted, could be manifested soon in other non-Communist borderlands.

Thanks to the political role of China's army, Communists everywhere in the target area enjoy a powerful psychological advantage that makes the fomenting of revolution all the easier. The ever-present possibility of invasion intimidates the anti-Communists. One needs courage bordering on foolhardiness to fight a local conspiracy that is backed by 5,000,000 soldiers just across a frail border!

U.S. Won't Face Reality.

The blueprint for today's history was drafted by Stalin a quarter of a century ago. Yet, a comparison of the blueprint with the foreign policy of the United States shows that our government has yet to face up to the realities of Stalin's revolutionary technique.

This reporter diligently searched the official policy declarations of the State Department, and the writings and public utterances of its officials and planners, but found not one direct reference to the books that contain the blueprint. Indeed, there was nothing to indicate even that the books had been read.

"The capitalist world sinks beneath the depths of the Pacific Ocean," Stalin wrote. "The Middle East and Asia, he said, are 'the roads to victory over the West.'"

Twenty-five years later Gen. of the Army Douglas MacArthur wrote:

"It seems strangely difficult for some to realize that here in Asia is where the Communist conspirators have elected to make their play for global conquest. . . ."

Letter Brings Dismissal.

That was in the general's celebrated letter to Rep. Joseph W. Martin, house minority leader. When the letter was read into the Congressional Record last April, President Truman responded immediately by firing Gen. MacArthur.

Prior to that, Gen. MacArthur had the responsibility of implementing State Department policy in Asia.

Nevertheless, it can be revealed now for the first time, that the general's estimate of the role of Asia in the Communist grand design was based solely upon his own observations and understanding of power moves in that theater.

Now, for the first time, it can be revealed that Gen. MacArthur was never briefed by the State Department on the real nature of Russian design in Asia.

Gen. MacArthur Amazed.

Although those designs were made crystal clear in Stalin's books, the general's superiors in Washington never so much as called his attention to the Communist blueprint of world conquest.

This reporter recently visited Gen. MacArthur at his New York headquarters and laid before him Stalin's "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question" and "China in Revolt."

The general examined the books with astonishment, and then said: "I have never laid eyes on those books before. I was not even aware of their existence."

TOMORROW: The Blueprint.

## HOLD FOR RELEASE

CHINA—Overnight—H. T. K.

Second of a Series.

By DAVID SWEET,

Staff Writer.

Late in December, 1945, Gen.

George C. Marshall went to China

as the State Department's special

envoy. His mission: to persuade

the Kuomintang to join the Chinese

Communists in a coalition

government.

Chiang Kai-shek, who burned

his fingers in the 1920s playing

with such a coalition, wouldn't

buy it. The mission was a failure.

Nevertheless, Gen. Marshall got

an "A" for effort, in the form of

an appointment as Secretary of

State. Chiang got the rug pulled

from under him. The general the

slapped an embargo on shipment

of arms to Nationalist China in

the crucial period of 1946 and

1947—just when Chiang was lick-

ing the pants off the Communists.

Coalitions Necessary.

Now about that coalition: did

Gen. Marshall know that Stalin, at

a closed State Department con-

ference on foreign policy held in

October, 1946, Mr. Kennan said:

"I remember Stalin one time

Chinese revolution? Stalin wrote:

"The masses must be mobilized and

around the Kuomintang and the peo-

ple asked them what they were

Chinese Communist party. . . .

Temporary blocs and agreements

(World War II) was over, and he

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As far back as 1923, in accord-

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East, I think it's you." And I

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think he was speaking quite sin-

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A "united front," Red-style, was

welded in September of that year,

when the Kremlin sent Michael

Borodin to Canton to become prin-

cipal adviser to the Kuomintang

and its founder, Dr. Sun Yat-sen,

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was able to assume leadership of

the revolutionary forces that were

stirring in China.

Chiang Sees the Light.

But the Communists overplayed

their hand. Under the influence

of the ultra-left Leon Trotsky, the

Chinese Communists demanded in

1927 a majority control of the

Kuomintang.

Chiang, who had assumed lead-

ership upon the death of Dr. Sun,

saw the light. Realizing the sin-

ister purpose behind the Commu-

nist "co-operation," Chiang dis-

solved the coalition and purged

the Communists. Borodin fled to

Russia.

It was then that Stalin read the

riot act to the Comintern. Trotsky

was ousted from the party in

November, 1927, and his ultra-left

policy was liquidated.

But the damage had been done.

The Communist cause in China

was all but wrecked.

Stalin's Second Chance.

Speaking for Stalin, the Ukrai-

nian Communist Dimitri Manuil-

sky analyzed the Chi-a effect for

the Comintern. He made it clear

that if the opportunity to win in

China via a coalition ever came

again the Communists would know

how to utilize it.

"We are a world party which

does not close its eyes to its own

weaknesses and mistakes," Manu-

ilsky declared.

That was in 1927. Eighteen what

the outcome in China was

years later Gen. Marshall sought,

going to be until . . . the dust

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Communists a second chance to

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said "no" we shut off his supply

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Last June Secretary of State

Denn Acheson told the Senate

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Just What Reds Wanted.

Did either Mr. Acheson or Gen.

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fore the general went to China,

Stalin had planned just such an

integration? Stalin wrote:

"The work of . . . Communist

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"This is fundamental for the

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TOMORROW: Pattern of Revolt

halled the treaty as "an impor-

tant step forward" and launched

the Marshall mission on the subject

questioning assumption that the

treaty would be honored.

Forrestal's Discovery.

But 16 years earlier Stalin had

declared himself on the subject

of Russian aid to the Chinese

Communists in the wake of the

anticipates World War II. The

declaration was made by Manu-

ilsky on Stalin's behalf. He said:

"When the armed struggle is

ended. . . . the USSR will be the

only state honestly ready to sup-

port the economic resurrection of

China. . . . Yet the Americans as-

sume that the USSR will for a

long time be unable to come to

the aid of the Chinese (Commu-

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George F. Kennan, the newly ap-

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TOMORROW: Pattern of Revolt

## HOLD FOR RELEASE

## REVOLT - OVERNIGHT

Third of a Series

By DAVID SNELL,

Staff Writer.

Communist revolutions are in progress throughout Asia and the Middle East. They are moving steadily toward completion, with little hindrance from the V.I.C.

Wherever the non-Communist world touches that of the Communist struggle is in a crucial stage. Communism is spreading like wet ink on a blotter.

Many years ago, Joseph Stalin wrote: "When a life-and-death struggle is being waged and is spreading between proletarian Russia and the imperialist entente, only two alternatives confront the border regions."

## No Third Choice.

"Either they join forces with Russia . . . or they join forces with the entente . . . There is no third solution."

You can find that passage in Stalin's unexpurgated "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question," where he exposed the plan of conquest that has enslaved 600,000,000 persons in only five years.

Published in 1927, the book is today the bible and blueprint of Soviet foreign policy. It reveals in detail the procedures by which Russia exports revolution to the colonial and dependent borderlands. It tells how Stalin hopes to topple those borderlands like a row of dominoes.

## Gave Away Secret.

Smugly confident that the West would never comprehend until too late, Stalin gave away the vital trade secret:

"What is the fundamental position from which Communist parties approach problems of the revolutionary movement in colonial and dependent countries?"

"It is a strict differentiation between revolution in imperialist countries, countries that oppress other peoples, and revolutions in colonial and dependent countries, countries that suffer from the imperialist oppression of other states."

"The fundamental mistake of the opposition is that they do not understand and will not admit this difference between one type of revolution and the other type of revolution."

## Two Sets of Rules.

In other words, one set of rules applies in countries like the United States and Great Britain. Another set holds for the Asiatic and Middle Eastern countries that now are Stalin's primary target.

Stalin emphasized that whatever the type, no Communist revolution *can* happen. A revolution is like a house. You cannot build the roof before the foundation and supporting walls are installed. And this is important: laying the foundation is just as vital—and *how*—as nailing on the shingles.

Incidentally, it is interesting to note that while Stalin claims to have destiny in his corner and credits his victories to the logic of history, he urges Communists everywhere to lend destiny and history a hand.

## Counts on U.S. Pals.

Also, Stalin does not rely entirely on the format for colonial-style revolution and its application by native Communists in the lands for which it was designed. He counts on his pals in the United States to help.

"No lasting victory can be achieved in colonial and dependent countries," Stalin wrote, "unless a real bond is established between the movement for emancipation in these countries and the proletarian movement in the advanced capitalist countries."

The "Programme of the Communist International" adds this:

The tasks of the Communist International connected with the revolutionary struggle in colonies, semi-colonies and dependencies are of the most important strategic tasks in the world proletarian struggle. . . . This (victory) cannot be achieved unless the closest cooperation is maintained between the proletariat in the oppressing countries and the toiling masses in the oppressed countries.

"The Communist Parties in the imperialist countries must render systematic aid to the colonial revolutionary movement . . . by all means in their power."

## Road to West.

This was Stalin's quaint, Aesopian way of saying that Communists the world over must work as a team. The sinister meaning of this was demonstrated at Yalta, where President Roosevelt presumably received advice on China from Alger Hiss.

It is unlikely that the world will ever learn precisely what Hiss told President Roosevelt — unless Hiss himself decides to disclose it. But of this one can be sure:

Hiss did not tell President Roosevelt something every Communist knows very well: a quarter of a century ago, Stalin designated Asia and the Middle East as "the road to victory over the West."

Today communism is marching that road.

the victory of the (world) proletarian revolution," writes the Russian theoretician E. A. Duna-

ev in a current party pamphlet, "The Soviet Union and the support of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the colonies. . . ."

"After World War II the national-colonial problem became especially important and acute. . . ."

"The Soviet solution of the . . . colonial problem is no secret."

No secret?

Back Door Open.

In anticipation of a direct military attack through the front door of Europe, the West is in frenzied defensive preparation. But the rear door—in Asia and the Middle East—is open and unguarded.

No secret?

The West has yet to understand fully that Stalin is building revolutions behind its back, or that Stalin is fighting—and winning—a creeping war.

No secret?

The West is trying to "contain" communism — without any clear idea of what it is trying to contain.

TOMORROW — The Creeping War.

## HOLD FOR RELEASE

SNEEL--THE OVERLAP

Fourth of a series.

By DAVID SNEEL,

Staff Writer.

Joseph Stalin is fighting a creeping war—and counting upon the West to lose it by default.

It is being fought in the colonial, semicolonial and dependent lands of Asia and the Middle East, and in Africa and South and Central America. The battle cry is "Death to imperialism!"

Throughout the primary target area, which is Asia and the Middle East, Stalin is building revolutions by stages—and hoping his enemies will not wake up to the fact until it is too late.

For each country the revolutionary stages are three. They follow the classic formula that was tested successfully in China.

Foreigners the Target.

"The distinguishing feature of the first stage," wrote Stalin, "is (that) . . . it was directed mainly against foreign oppression."

Today, in Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Morocco, open and concealed Communists—with plenty of unwitting popular support—are howling for the scalps of foreigners.

"Let us now proceed to the second stage," Stalin continued. "The distinguishing feature of this stage is that the edge of the revolution is now directed mainly against internal enemies."

In India, where the British no longer rule, the Communists have turned on Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, and made of him the No. 1 bogey man. Nehru seems destined to become India's Ching K'ai-shek.

The third stage, wrote Stalin, is the "consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat." Then it is all over.

Stalin Confident.

The fire burning in the Middle East has been fanned relentlessly by Communist agents. This follows the classic blueprint, as set down in Stalin's unexpurgated "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question."

There, as elsewhere, Stalin feels confident of success. His confidence stems from a belief that the West will never accept the so-called backward nations as full and equal partners.

"National equality and . . . friendly collaboration between nations," he wrote, "are unachievable and inconceivable under the rule of capitalism."

It goes almost without saying that the Communists shouting the slogans of nationalism are insincere. The "Programme of the Communist International" is explicit on this point:

"When a revolutionary situation is developing, the party advances certain transitional slogans and . . . demands corresponding to the concrete situation; but these demands and slogans must be bent to the revolutionary aim of capturing power."

Erase Nationalism.

Once in power, the Communists swiftly eradicate the nationalism that helped bring them to power. The Russian theoretician E. A. Dunayeva writes:

"If the survivals of nationalism . . . are not combatted, they may revive and cause considerable harm. . . . It must not be forgotten that the reactionary forces of the capitalist world that surrounds us are trying by various ways and means to smuggle the corrupt bourgeois ideology into our country. . . . Soviet people must be uncompromising in their hostility to all manifestations and survivals of nationalism."

So much for the regard of Communists for nationalism. But what does it matter if they are insincere when they shout "Egypt for the Egyptians?"

They would shout that the moon is green cheese if it would help them win unwitting mass support among native populations. Without such support, the cause of the revolution is lost, Stalin wrote:

"The misfortune of the opposition in fact is that they do not recognize this simple Leninist rule for leading the millions: that . . . the party alone, . . . without the support of the millions, is incapable of accomplishing a revolution."

Charging Strategy.

Thus, in 1926, Stalin declared in a speech to the Chinese commission of the Communist International, while the Chinese revolu-

tion was in its first stage: "the masses must be mobilized around the Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist party."

Later, he explained:

"We always said that it was impossible to adopt the policy of dislodging and replacing the . . . Kuomintang leadership before it had run its course as a bourgeois revolutionary government, and that it must first be allowed to run its course before practically raising the question of replacing it."

As an example of how the formula works today, consider the Philippines.

On July 4, 1946, the Independent Republic of the Philippines was proclaimed in accordance with the Tydings-McDuffie Act passed by the Congress of the United States in 1934. While this obviously was in no way the doing of Communists, it served to advance the revolution in that country to the second stage.

When Mrs. Aurora Quezon, widow of the first President of the Philippines, Manuel Quezon, was assassinated and slain by Communist-led Huk guerrillas in April, 1948, a shock wave shuddered through the free world.

Raising the Question.

Mrs. Quezon was a symbol of Philippine independence. Her voice had spoken eloquently against communism. Her assassination was the sign that "the bourgeois revolutionary government" had run its course, and that the Communists were "raising the question of replacing it."

Today, the Huk guerrillas are a formidable striking force. Their operations are expanding. The Communist revolution in the Philippines is in its third and final stage.

In all three stages of that or any other colonial-style Communist revolution, wrote Stalin, "intense work must be carried on with the help of concealed Communists."

On that point, consider India. The Communists have endeavored to plant their agents in the Indian government at all levels. These agents can commit espionage, influence state policy in accordance with party line and, when the opportune time arrives, assist in the liquidation of non-Communist officials. All the while, the Chinese Red army is poised to spring from Tibet.

How to Identify Them?

How can these concealed Communists be identified? Sometimes we may suspect them by their deeds. Take, for example, Sardar K. M. Panikkar, India's Ambassador to Communist China and temporary member of the Indian delegation to the United Nations. Mr. Panikkar has shown an alarming affection for the regime of Mao Tse-tung, the Red butcher of China. As recently as last October Mr. Panikkar was assuring his nation and the world that Mao does not toe the Moscow line. He praised Mao for setting in motion "a dynamic social revolution" by implementing our old pal, the agrarian reform.

He hailed as an "achievement" Mao's establishment of a "powerful central government," and even defended China's aggression in Korea as "an aspect" of China's traditional interest in the peninsula. He said that in Korea Mao was not carrying out any particular Soviet directive.

Serves Useful Purpose.

What Mr. Panikkar failed to report was Stalin's promise that Red China would "become a magnet for all the peoples of the yellow race . . . a major power on the Pacific . . . (and) a menacing threat for . . . three continents." Nor did he report that Red China was assigned by Stalin the task of dealing India the coup de grace through the political and military role of the Chinese army.

Whether Mr. Panikkar actually is a Communist is impossible to say. It really doesn't matter. He serves a useful purpose to Communism.

You don't have to look too closely to find Mr. Panikkar's counterpart in Egypt, Iran and every other country of the trumpet area. You'll find him in high places, calling for closer ties with the Soviet Union and openly antagonistic toward the West.

World War III is the creeping

TOMORROW: Is Tito a Tito?

## HOLD FOR RELEASE

TITO's overnite 15-McC Yugoslavia's voting record even

*Fifth of a Series.*  
By DAVID SNEDEC,  
Staff Writer.

By accepting on face value the Stalin-Tito "feud," the United States may be walking into a trap of crisis, that his feud with Tito in Yugoslavia.

This newspaper reveals today for the first time the startling fact that—a full quarter of a century in advance—Stalin planned a "split" between a Communist Yugoslavian regime and the Soviet bloc. It happened just as he planned it.

Stalin forewarned World War II in Europe and correctly estimated that it would bring communism to power in Yugoslavia. He planned for Yugoslavia to "secede" from the Soviet bloc—to gain "national territorial autonomy"—in the wake of that war.

As audacious and cunning as any subterfuge ever devised by the Kremlin's malignant genius, Stalin's plan for Yugoslavia—as originally conceived—throws new light on the Stalin-Tito rift.

**Book Contains Clues.**

The plan is found in Stalin's book "Marxism and the National and Colonial Question" (unexpurgated), providing important clues that bear on the true nature of the feud and its possible usefulness to the Soviet Union. This book is today the bible and blueprint of Soviet foreign policy, but it is little known in the United States outside of Communist circles.

Published in 1927, the book shows that Stalin drafted his Yugoslavian "secession" program two years earlier and called upon the Communist party of Yugoslavia to adopt it officially. Neither Yugoslavia nor the international Communist movement has ever renounced it.

Significantly, Yugoslavia and China were the only countries singled out for special discussion in the book. The reason, as advanced by Stalin, was that both would vary from the normal pattern of revolution in colonial and dependent nations. Stalin devoted an entire chapter to each.

The Chinese revolution, Stalin explained, varied from the norm because of the predominance of military questions. The Chinese Red army was destined to win the revolution, assist in the spread of communism elsewhere and defend the Soviet Union.

**Two Factors in Yugoslavia.** Yugoslavia, Stalin pointed out, required special consideration because of two factors:

1. Like the Soviet Union, it had to deal with the problem of national entities within its borders, and, more importantly,...
2. It enjoyed a "special position" in regard to international relations.

"We must... bear in mind the circumstance that Yugoslavia is not a fully independent country... and that... she cannot escape the great play of forces that is at work outside Yugoslavia," Stalin wrote.

"If you are drawing up a national program for the Yugoslav party—and this is precisely what we are dealing with—you must remember that this program must be based on... what is developing and what will inevitably occur by virtue of international relations. That is why I think that the question of... self-determination should be regarded as an immediate and burning question.

"Now about the national program of the Yugoslav Communist party. As the starting point... we must postulate a Soviet revolution in Yugoslavia... It is imperative to include in the national program a special point on... secession.

"Finally, the program should include a special point providing for national territorial autonomy... in Yugoslavia..."

**Foresaw War.**

Stalin wrote that the question of autonomy would have to be resolved during or following World War II—the coming of which he clearly foresaw.

"Even if we admit that at the moment this question is not an immediate one," he wrote, "it might definitely become immediate if war begins, or when war begins... That war will inevitably begin and that they over there (Germany, England and France) are bound to come to blows, there can be no doubt..."

When the present "territorial autonomy" for Yugoslavia was created in June 1948, with an announcement by the Cominform of the Stalin-Tito split, the non-Communist world whooped for joy. Nobody called attention to the fact that "territorial autonomy" had no Stalinist infiltrator can get been planned as early as 1925.

Instead, we jumped happily to the conclusion that here was a falling out of thieves and a portent of the crumbling of the entire Communist structure. We wasted a little time clasping the butcher Tito in almost loving embrace, accepting his word that he was Stalin's enemy.

**Didn't Oppose Soviet Union.** Curiously, we paid scant attention to what Yugoslavia was doing in the United Nations. We carelessly noticed that the Yugoslavian delegation never once stood against the Soviet bloc when the chips were really down.

Indeed, this reporter has not been able to discover through the press division of the American delegation that a tabulation of

Yugoslavia's voting record even exists. Although Stalin actually planned a Yugoslavian "secession" and it happened squarely according to his timetable, it is possible, in fact, that his feud with Tito is genuine.

Any doubt of its authenticity would be erased if Stalin were to enter fully into the Western alliance and welcome Gen. Eisenhower's troops to Yugoslavian soil—which Tito has given no sign that he even contemplates doing.

Granted or not, the fact is that the split is useful to Stalin and has in no way weakened him in the international picture. One need only to look at the map to see why.

**Key to Satellite Defense.**

What are the "external factors" that underlay Stalin's "secession" plan? Geographically, Yugoslavia holds the key to the defense of Stalin's Eastern European satellite. Against her borders are Hungary, Romania and Bulgaria—whose peoples might welcome a liberating army. Yugoslavia shields Europe's soft under-belly.

Bound up with this unique geographic situation is the all-important question of the role Yugoslavia will play in any new European war.

Three courses are open to Tito: He could fight on the side of the Allies or on the side of Stalin. Or he could remain "neutral."

If Tito takes sides either way, an Allied attack could be launched against Stalin through Yugoslavia's territory. But if he remains neutral, no Allied soldier, under the rules of neutrality, could touch Yugoslavia.

*A neutral Yugoslavia would seal off the under-belly of Europe more effectively than 100 Red divisions could do it.*

Go to now, Tito has given absolutely no assurance that he would standon neutrallity. We have only his vague, Aesopian mumbo-jumbo about standing "on the side of peace."

**Independence An Illusion.**

What would be the character of Yugoslavian "neutrality?" Would it be genuine neutrality? Again, Stalin provides the clue.

"When a life-and-death struggle exists between proletarian Russia and the imperialist entente, only two alternatives confront the border regions. Either they join forces with Russia... or they join forces with the entente. There is no third solution. So called independence... is only an illusion."

Thus, an illusory "neutrality" in Yugoslavia would mask complete alliance with the Soviet Union. The practical advantages, from Stalin's standpoint, are at once apparent.

1. A neutral Yugoslavia would shield Europe's under-belly.
2. It would provide Stalin with an outlet to the warm waters of the Mediterranean, enabling him to receive strategic supplies and materials from Asia and the Middle East; 12 months in the year.

3. It would provide Stalin with a point of liaison with secret Communist couriers from the free world, playing for him the role that neutral Portugal played for Hitler in World War II.

**Led Resistance Forces.**

Who is Tito? He is Josef Broz, an old-line Communist agent and professional revolutionary. Hand-picked by Stalin, Tito went into Yugoslavia in World War II with the mission of grabbing control of the resistance forces of the heroic Col. Draza Mihailovich.

Following the classic pattern, Tito tried to form a coalition or united front with Mihailovich, who wouldn't buy it. England, and then the United States, sided with Tito. Mihailovich was thrown to the wolves.

With the collapse of the Nazis, Tito set up a typical puppet government, staffed at all levels by reliable Moscow-trained Communists. But came the Stalin-Tito split and the whole crowd of them went along with Tito—or so we are asked to believe.

Let's face it. Communists just don't behave that way. When Earl Browder was expelled from the American Communist party on orders from Moscow, his supposedly loyal pals turned on him like so many colars.

**'End Justifies Means.'**

If Tito really is so dangerous to the Communist cause as the open party press would have us believe, why hasn't Stalin ordered his assassin? Is it possible that the "territorial autonomy" had no Stalinist infiltrator can get within pistol range?

Moreover, Tito himself concedes that he is a Communist. That being so, he wouldn't object to stringing along with a little deception, especially one so useful to the Communist cause. Remember: Communists believe the end always justifies the means.

Meanwhile, Tito is fattening on Uncle Sam's bank account, and using American arms to consolidate his control over the Yugoslavian people.

If Tito's "neutrality" is the trap he feuds with the boss is the bait, Uncle Sam is gobbling the bait, but hasn't detected the strong odor of fish.

**TOMORROW: What Stalin Fears.**

*Last of a Series.*  
**By DAVID SNELL**  
*Staff Writer.*

The legions of the Kremlin are pounding along the road of conquest that courses through Asia and the Middle East. But they do not march as conquering heroes, in the immaculate rectangles of dress parade. Instead, they stalk in the shadows of master conspiracy.

The United States is officially committed to a belief that the Communist world carries within its bloodstream the germs of fatal illness.

In 1947, George F. Kennan, as the author of the famous "X" article in the magazine *Foreign Affairs*, projected for the United States "a policy of firm containment, designed to confront the Russians with unalterable counterforce at every point where they show signs of encroaching upon the interests of a peaceful and stable world."

Years earlier, almost in anticipation of such words, Stalin had written: "Others think that the socialist offensive is a headlong march forward . . . the mudsuckers' heads . . . do not . . . the class nature of the attack. . . . Trotsky also imagined he was attacking enemies when he attacked windmills. But we know he got only a bruised head. . . ."

When the attack appeared Mr. Khrushchev was chief of the policy planning staff of the State Department. On Dec. 26, 1951, President Truman appointed him American ambassador to Moscow, and the Kremlin announced that the appointment was acceptable.

In formulating our "containment" policy, Mr. Kennan wrote: "If disunity were ever to seize and paralyze the (Communist) party, the chaos and weakness of Russian society would be revealed in forms beyond description. Soviet Russia must be changed overnight from one of the strongest of the weakest and most formidable of national societies. . . . the possibility remains . . . and in the opinion of the writer is a strong one—that the seeds of power . . . bears within itself the seeds of its own decay, and that the sprouting of these seeds is well ad-

But even as Mr. Kennan was writing of the sprouting of seeds, the Soviet Union was reaping the harvest. The Chinese revolution had become a terrible reality. Two years and five months after the appearance of the "X" article, the Nationalist government of China fled the mainland. In that tragical hour the Soviet world doubled in strength.

Meanwhile, wishful thinking remained an ingredient of American planning. It was an ingredient that was to manifest itself often in curious ways.

As late as April, 1951, with the horror of Korea full upon us, Mr. Kennan, in another article in the magazine Foreign Affairs, found it possible to say: "... to what extent China can really be said to be part of the Soviet system."

Here, in effect we are invited to settle into an easy chair, light a pipe and dream of the possibility that Mao-Tse-tung will come a Tito. The fact is, as yesterday's article demonstrated, there is more than a reasonable doubt even that Tito is a Tito.

"This perspective takes into account the possibility," he said, "that the Soviet government not be inherently and unalterably committed to standing in the way of peace, and that it may some day accept a live-and-let-live policy."

"Some modification of their aggressive policies may follow, if they then recognize that the best interests of the Soviet Union require a co-operative relationship with the world."

The previous year, 1949, I  
letter of transmittal accom-  
ing the State Department's  
Paper on China, Mr. A  
wrote:

But with the very next ser-  
look what turned up:  
"We continue to believe

however tragic may be the immediate future of China... ultimately the profound civilization and the democratic individualism of China will reassert themselves and she will throw off the foreign yoke.

Such has been the pattern of American official thinking. The Communists have an answer. In a new Communist party pamphlet, the Soviet theoretician E. A. Dunaeva writes:

Dunayeva writes:  
"One of the gravest blunders the Hitlerites committed was their banking on the breakdown of the commonwealth of Soviet nations. The nature of Stalin's *creeping war* is such that he has no fear of our efforts at 'containment,' which he regards—as his communique above makes clear—as only a Quixotic gesture toward a wind-mill."

Writing of the "ebb and flow of revolution, Stalin teaches that communism is fluid and cannot be contained. The State Department hopes to make communism hold still, but Stalin tells us it always in stages of advance and never stationary."

What, then, does Stalin fear? He fears being thrown on the defensive. In the book "Leftwings" Lenin writes:

“Once the insurrection has begun it is necessary to act with greatest determination, and, at costs, on the offensive. The *defense is the death of every arm rising.*”

Therein Lenin gives away a vital Communist secret, but the free world has disregarded it almost completely.

We ignored it in China in the crucial years 1946 and 1947, when we cut off aid to Chiang Kai-shek while the Communist armies actually were on the defensive and threatened with annihilation.

We ignored it in Korea, where China was permitted to attack without being forced to defend her own territory.

We are ignoring it in the rest of Asia and the Middle East, where Communist revolutions are on the offensive, in the convenient absence of effective counterrevolutionary acts on our part.

The lone exception was the American program for Greece and Turkey, by which President Truman's short-lived "get-tough" policy dealt the Soviet Union one of the few total setbacks it has experienced. Given freely and with no strings attached, our aid to Greece and Turkey smashed the Communist revolutions—by threatening them on the defensive.

**Showing of Weakness.**  
But with the formulation of containment policy the State Department backed gradually a get-tough policy.

from the get-tough policy. Kennan wrote that our "dema- on Russian policy should be forward in such a manner a leave the way open for a com- the ance not too detrimental to the sign prestige."

In other words, we returned to the old practice of falling back on the old slogan, "to act with the greatest determination."

ing of weakness of indec  
serves only to spur the Com  
nists to greater boldness. I  
wrote:

"The decisive battle was fully matured when all the forces hostile to us have been sufficiently confused . . . all the vacillating, wavering, unstable, intermediate elements have sufficiently . . . disorganized themselves through their financial bankruptcy. . . . Then, indeed, revolutionary

ripe; then, indeed . . . our  
tory is assured."

These articles have exposed the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the weapons with which it fights its battles.

They have laid bare the blueprint for world conquest himself drafted it. They imposed our own mistakes as

**Course Still Pursued**

"A course having been out," Stalin wrote, "it is no matter what difficulties and complications encountered on the road."

The articles have demonstrated that the course mapped by Stalin is being pursued in a meeting with success.

But, most important, the revelations have revealed Stalin's greatest fear: The fear of being outmaneuvered on the defensive.

It still is within the  
the free world to seize  
tive: It still is within

of the free world to go on the defensive—as well as militarily. But the hour is late.

believe that,